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A
 L E T T E R
 TO THE
 People of *England*,
 ON THE
 Present SITUATION and CONDUCT
 OF
 NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

L E T T E R I.

*Hoc illud est præcipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac
 frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita
 monumento intueri: inde tibi tuæque reipublicæ quod
 imitère, capias, inde fœdum inceptu, fœdum exitu, quod
 vites.*

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MDCCLV.

ERRATA in Letter I.

PAGE 32, Line 16, for *chastened*, read
chastised.

Page 33, Line 7, for *shown*, read *shone*.

Page 34, Line last, for *oppose*, read *expose*.



LETTER

TO THE

People of *England*.

LETTER

WHOSOEVER has been accustomed to read with Attention, the Historians, Orators, and Satyric Poets of *Greece* and *Rome*, that wrote towards the Decline of those States, and observed the Manners, Pursuits, Objects, and ruling Passions of these People, together with the Symptoms of impending Ruin, presaged and delineated by those Men of superior Genius, must, on Comparison with what prevails at present in *England*, be deeply touched with the Analogy. The *Philippics* of *Demosthenes* are so replete with striking Pictures and vivid Representations, drawn from Observation, on what passed at *Athens* during his time; and

so applicable to the People and present State of this Country, that the great Difference of the Names of those Persons who lived, and Places which existed Two Thousand Years ago in *Greece*, have not sufficient Power to withhold my Imagination from being imposed on by the Similitude of Manners; or restrain me from believing, that I am reading the History of *Englishmen*, and the present Age.

WHEN I see this Patriot Orator generously upbraiding his degenerate Countrymen with universal Venality and Loss of public Virtue; describing them drown'd in Floods of self-love, Pleasure, and public Shows, supinely negligent of their Country's Welfare; contemning the Merit of all other Nations, themselves arrogant and self-sufficient in Excess; preferring private Opinion to established Wisdom; idolizing Mortals in Power and irreverent to their Gods: What Eye so dim that cannot distinguish the Analogy so manifest between the *Athenians* of his Time and the *English* of ours? what Mind so stupid as not to foresee the same Events?

It seems evident from all I can gather, that the Strength, Happiness, Military and Civil

Civil Glory of all Nations, have ever subsisted and encreased in Proportion to the Understanding and Virtue of those, who reigned, and those who obey'd; and though Numbers of Inhabitants and Degrees of Riches may be thought by many to oppose this Observation, yet a just Examination will prove the Truth of what is here said.

Was it not by means of the happy Union of those superior Qualifications in the first *Cyrus*, that he extended his Empire from the little Realm of *Persia* over Nations, almost too distant to be visited, and whose Languages were unintelligible to each other, as *Xenophon* has described them? Yet such is the Fate and Revolution of Empires; *Darius* with all these Nations in Subjection, with infinite Armies and untold Sums of Treasure, deserted by Virtue only, fell the easy Prey of *Alexander* and a few *Macedonians*.

To this energetic Influence of Virtue in the common People, and Understanding united with it in their Leaders, it is owing that the *Grecians* in their rising Glory performed almost miraculous Exploits.

To confirm this Truth, the well fought Field of *Marathon*, where *Miltiades* and ten thousand *Greeks* defeated six hundred thousand *Persians*, affords an irresistible Evidence: as did the naval Victory of *Themistocles*, who saved his Country from Perdition, such amazing Atchievements can small Numbers actuated by their Country's Love, armed with the Sword of Virtue, and conducted by superior Wisdom, perform against Millions sunk in Effeminacy, Luxury, and Riches.

SPARTA remained invincible whilst her Sons were virtuous, and *Leonidas* unconquerable but by Death.

EVEN *Thebes*, the long Object of sarcastic Attic Wit, lifted her Head from below the Dust, and walked forth the prevailing Power of *Greece*, by the Virtue of one great Man; like a new Star she shone forth in Lustre amongst the other Cities: with *Epaminondas* its resplendent Course began, with him it blazed, and with him expired.

THE whole *Roman* Glory was entirely owing to the Virtue of its Inhabitants, whilst the greatest Honour attended Integrity in Poverty, and private Parsimony was Praise; whilst their
Generals

Generals tilled their own little Farms, and the Labour of their Hands gave their Children the Bread of Virtue; whilst Merit brought Dictators from the Plough to rule a Nation, the *Romans* were insuperable: yet, when their Emperors possessed half the Globe and half the Riches on its Surface, this very People became the easy Capture of *Goths* and *Vandals*.

IN this Manner will Nations perish, who renounce the Dictates of Virtue.

IN all Situations, where Nations are equal in the Qualities of the Heart, the Chief who excels in Understanding prevails in his Undertakings. The Moment *Marlbrough* left the Command of the Army, *Villars* conquered the Allies, and the long vanquished triumphed over their former Victors. *Turenne*, who during three Months had traversed the Designs and disappointed the Attempts of the *Austrians*, being now no more, left an easy Conquest over the Troops he had commanded, and his Country to be invaded by *Montecuculi*.

PETER the *Russian* Emperor, by Dint of Genius created a civilized People from Beings little better than Brutes. The very Man, who with more than a Hundred Thousand
of

of his Troops fled before the Approach of Eight Thousand Swedes, and the severe Virtue of *Charles*, in his Beginning Reign, became at last his Conqueror, and made his Nation respectable.

THE present Sovereign of *Prussia*, the patriot King, who has rescued his Subjects from the Rapine of the Law, who institutes and sustains Manufacturies, encourages Arts and Sciences, promotes Industry, opens new Trades, extends his Commerce, enlarges his Dominions, aggrandizes his Name, and holds the Balance of *Europe*; is a living Instance of what exalted Understanding on a Throne can effect for a Nation.

IN this Manner our illustrious *Queen Elizabeth* reigned over the Hearts of a free People, directed by upright Ministers to her Subjects good. In this Manner it might have continued, if the cold, conceited Disputatious, man-loving *Scot*, had not filled the Throne of *England*, and blasted with his Northern Breath the blooming Plants of Glory which she had raised.

As are the Princes and Ministers; such have ever been the People who live beneath their Influence, in *England* and all Nations.

EVEN

EVEN long after Luxury, and every Vice had prevailed at *Rome*, a virtuous Emperor recalled the People to Greatness and Felicity; the Reigns of *Trajan* and *Antoninus Pius* were equal in Happiness and Glory, to the most flourishing Æra of the *Roman* Name.

VIRTUE and Wisdom, Vice and Venality, have ever been ; the first the Sources of national Happiness and Success, the latter of Decline and Ruin.

To flatter ourselves then, that the same Causes which destroyed *Greece* and *Rome* will not generate the like Consequences in *England*, is to delude ourselves like Children with self-willed, over-weaning Fondness. It is to suppose that the original Institution of all Things is established on vague and capricious Principles, and that those degenerate Faculties of mental Nature, which have begotten Ruin in all other Countries, will not produce the same Effect in this Island.

It is to believe that Corruption of Heart,
and public Virtue ; Love of Ease and Search
of Danger ; Insolence and true Bravery ;
Contempt of Heaven and Contempt of
B Death,

Death, can be existing in the same People; that the Course of Nature is suspended in our Favour, or that *England* is exempted from the Conditions which Providence first fixt on all created Things.

Is such Imagination a less Absurdity than to conceive that physical Principles, which produce Putrefaction and Dissolution in vegetable and animal Nature, may exist in full Energy, and yet these Substances remain unaltered, incorrupt, and entire, from that Influence.

HAS not Venality in human Kind, the same Effect on the Soul that the putrefactive Principle has on Matter? Does it not destroy the Union of its Parts, and dissipate that strong attractive Power which holds the Mind firm, and resisting all vicious Attacks? Deprived of Virtue, it no longer possesses Strength or Vigor; it becomes feeble and effete. Yet, as in preserving animal and vegetable Substances from Decay, Art may supply the Absence of Nature in some Degree; so in Societies and moral Nature, Wisdom may restrain the precipitate Fall of Nations, and preserve them from total Ruin,
tho'

tho' it may never restore them to their original Perfection.

I HAVE frequently thought that the Roman Word *Virtus*, which signifies Courage, has a Propriety in expressing the Idea beyond all the few Languages I have any Knowledge of; it seems to embrace the whole in Man which conspires to perfect that Attribute; Courage has been deemed by that People an Emanation of every Virtue, the Result of all others combined; and therefore by way of Eminence distinguished by that Appellation *Virtus, the Virtue*. They had remarked, that in Proportion as the Bosom is replete with Probity and Truth, the Love of its Country and its Gods; so is the Heart which inhabits it, with Courage.

THAT Breast which is freest from Pollution, is the least intimidated at Danger; the purest Soul is foremost in offering up Life a Sacrifice to its Country, whereas the contaminated skulks to save itself in Cowardice.

THIS was the unvarying Characteristics of *Persians, Greeks, and Romans*, in their Days

of greatest Glory, till at Length their Souls, debased by Corruption and Pleasure, became pusillanimous in Action, even in those Men whose Minds were not influenced by the certain Fear of future Punishments.

THIS Kind of Cowardice receives a new Cause, and this Observation a farther Confirmation in Christian Kingdoms ; that Being which is depreciated by mean Actions, Corruption, and Injustice, is eternally haunted by the Dread of opposing himself to Danger, his Fears increase with his Vices, that very Individual which despises his Religion and defies his God, breathes Insolence and Outrage apart from Danger, trembles at the Approach of an Enemy, when Death and conscious Guilt recoil upon his Mind, like the timid Deer, who, valuing himself upon the Strength of his Antlers, flies at the first Sound of Hounds which pursue him ; or the Lark, which shrinks to the Bosom of the Earth at the Sight of the Hawk, which hovers over his Head.

THE *Englishman* whose Valour is insuperable whilst Integrity sustains, Religion animates,

mates, and Patriotism urges him to Battle, must yield an unresisting Victory when those invigorating Qualities desert him; however true this must be acknowledged to be, it must be confessed also that the common People in no Nation have ever been the Cause of their own Corruption; it has always taken its Source from the polluted Fountain of the Great, and thence ran muddy thro' the Multitude below.

WAS it not the Patricians at *Rome* that by Bribes began to sap the Virtue, pollute the Hearts, and corrupt the Integrity of the *Roman* common People, by purchasing their Votes in the public Elections of their Officers; the Inferior sought not the Great. *England* was a Nation of Probity, till those who ought to have been the voluntary Choice of uninfluenced Consent, debased their own Souls and those of their Electors, by becoming their Representatives thro' Venerality and Purchase. The Man who sells himself is more a Slave than he that is sold by another, and deeper impregnated with baser Qualities of Bondage.

HENCE, from History and Nature, from Observation and Reason, it plainly appears that

that Nations have ever succeeded according to the Virtue and Understanding of those who directed them, and have declined and risen as these prevailed.

THAT this Kingdom is replete with all those fatal Symptoms, which foretold the Ruin of other free States, who shall deny? In *England* the King can do no Wrong, for which Reason the M——r becomes justly chargeable with the Errors and Misconduct of the State. As are the Talents and Designs of this Man, will be the Capacities and Pursuits of those who are employed beneath him. If we divide the Scale of mental Nature into ten degrees, and suppose that of a M——r to be at five, will not all those he appoints either in the Army or the Fleet, in Embassies and Counsel, be below that Degree of Understanding, his own Judgment must in his own Opinion be the most perfect of human Intellect in all Plans, Resolutions, and Conduct; he is prevented, by his shallow short-sighted Degree of Understanding, from penetrating into the Conceptions and Schemes of superior Minds, and must necessarily chuse those which resemble him in Size of Capacity. For this Reason, as Men exceed him
and

and one another in Excellence, the less probable will it be that they will be employed under him. As these Men advance to Perfection in this Scale of intellectual Nature, they will grow more incomprehensible to his confined Understanding, and be deemed as Visionaries and Projectors; in Proportion as they are adapted by all the exalted Attributes of the Mind to serve their King and Country, their Counsel will be rejected and themselves excluded; judge then what Catastrophe must attend Kingdoms so directed.

IT is with the human Intellect as with the human Body, each extends according to its natural Size, each has its Limit, beyond which it cannot pass; and a Dwarf will reach with his Hand as high as *Goliath*, before the Duke of ***** will conceive the Extent, Force, and Truth of the Earl of G——e's Capacity.

FROM this Manner of Reasoning, whenever a M——r is weak [we shall talk of the Effects of Wickedness in a succeeding Letter] all those who are under his Direction, and of his Choice, must participate of
that

that national Calamity; the Stream of Poison which rises destructive in the Head, will still run on the same, through the Conduct of all that Body which lies beneath him.

I HAVE thus long intruded on your Patience, my Fellow-Countrymen, to show you that what may be here advanced is true in the View of Nature, as deduced from Principle; and verified by Observation and Experience in the History of Mankind, to convince you that Love of my Country, and not Malevolence to M——rs, Truth and not Scandal, Good-will towards Mankind, and no latent Aversion against Individuals, have been my sole Motives to this Attempt.

IN all Accounts I shall confine myself severely to Truth, and attempt to draw no Inferences which do not appear evidently deduceable from preceding facts: In executing this, however derogatory to the Capacity of those in Power, I fear not the Calumny of Minions in Favour, Hawkers of ministerial Falshoods, Advocates for Destroyers of their Country, or even M——rs themselves.

IF

If what shall be here written appears to be just, what honest *Englishman* shall disapprove of my Conduct? Whatever Distance either Chance, Birth, or Riches, may have placed between me and a Prime Minister, there must be yet more between him and his Country. No Subject can be so superior to me in Rank, as this Nation is above him in Dignity. If I presume to examine the Understanding of him who presides at the Helm, let it be remembered it is because I am convinced his Weakness misguides his Fellow-Subjects. If I am blamed for daring to arraign his Conduct, it is because I am satisfied his Presumption may ruin his Country. Acquit me then or condemn me, as he is innocent or guilty.

HOWEVER, I confide that the patriot Design which justified *Demosthenes* the *Athenian*, and immortalized his Name, shall at least find me, an *Englishman*, present Favour and Applause; and Zeal for the Constitution of my Country vindicate me in the Hearts of all Men who yet preserve the Love of Probity and their native Land.

As we resemble the *Greeks* and *Romans* in the Symptoms of declining Liberty and Virtue,
C
superior

superior Wisdom in the Conduct of our M—rs can alone reinstate and preserve us. Let us then examine on what our Expectations are founded, and what is to be expected from those who preside in public Affairs.

It is not my present Design to summon up before your Eyes the Ghosts of Mal-Administration, or turn them back on the Conduct of the two Brothers, during the last Wars; I mean not now to awaken your Attention to that Flood of Pollution and Corruption, which has been let out, to Deluge Integrity and Justice; I wish not to bring past Crimes to your Remembrance, squandering your Properties, and invading your Liberties, to aggravate the present Misconduct, or tread backwards those Paths which lead to unraveling M——l Iniquity, I will not hint the Inattention which prevailed during the *French* naval Armaments and Usurpations in *America*. Objects within the Ken of every Eye, Transactions of Yesterday, what has lately past by Land and Sea, shall be lain before you. Behold those with Attention, judge impartially from the Conduct in these Affairs, what is the Force of that Capacity which directs them, then remember that *England* is your native Land, and reflect

one Moment on the Danger which hangs
threatning over it.

To avoid every minute Particular, let us
begin with examining the Conduct of our
Navies.

No Man, I believe, will presume to deny
that a true Intelligence, of what employs our
Enemies, is necessary to all Ministers who
would successfully oppose their Machinations;
and though it may be difficult to obtain a sure
Knowledge of that Expedition which a Fleet
is destined to go upon, it must be an easy
Task to be ascertained of the Number of Ships
they are equipping. The Bosom of one Man
only may be conscious of the Intention of a
naval Armament, when Thousands must
know the Number which are arming. The
Minister may be incorruptable, and the Secret
impossible to be penetrated. Amongst the
Multitudes employed in preparing this Force,
many may be found, and infinite Ways con-
trived, to know the Number of our Ene-
mies Ships. Without this previous Know-
ledge, on what Basis can it be presumed we
oppose the Fleets of our Enemies? Yet this
necessary Information, so easily procured, must

be confessed to have been totally neglected, disregarded, or unobtained; or, which is yet more flagrant, the highest Imputation of Folly must be attributed to the Ad——n.

To prove this Assertion, let us begin with saying, that it was decided that the *French Fleet* at *Brest* should be opposed by the *English*, and its Destruction resolved upon; let us now cast our Eyes on the Manner in which this Design was plann'd, and the Way in which it was intended to be accomplished.

To execute this, Admiral *Boscawen* was sent to command a Squadron of Men of War, and in consequence of that Resolve set Sail from off *Plymouth* the twenty-seventh of *April*, with a Fleet consisting of eleven Ships of the Line and one Frigate. It has since appeared, that his Orders were to cruize on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, to wait the Arrival of the *French Fleet*, and intercept their Voyage to *America*.

THE sending this Squadron under Admiral *Boscawen*, is a clear Proof that our M——rs imagined the Number it contained was sufficient to destroy the *French Fleet*; or it must

be

be granted, that if they were purposely sent out unequal to the Attempt, that that Behaviour would be but little better than dooming them a Sacrifice. On the sixth of *May* the *French* Fleet, consisting of twenty-five Ships of the Line, ten of which were employed as Transports, their lower-deck guns being taken out; the rest fully armed, sailed from *Brest* for *North-America*.

IN consequence of the Intelligence that this Fleet was sailed, and the Number of it, Admiral *Holbourne* was dispatched with six Ships of the Line and one Frigate, and sailed from off *Plymouth* the sixteenth of *May*, being nineteen Days after Mr *Boscawen*, and ten after the sailing of the *French* Fleet, to join the *English* Admiral.

THIS Reinforcement is an undeniable Proof that the M—y was absolutely unacquainted with the Number of Ships equipping at *Brest*, for this Expedition, before their sailing; otherwise can it be presumed they would not have sent a greater Number of Ships with Mr *Boscawen* at first, since many more were ready for the Sea; or would they have sent the Reinforcement by Mr *Holbourne* at all, if they had known

known that Mr *Macnamara* would have returned with nine Ships of the Line; the Number of the *French* Fleet then, and the Part of it which was to return, were absolutely unknown to our M—y before it sailed; for the last they may be excused, but the Ignorance of the former is utterly unpardonable.

AFTER these three Fleets were sailed, let us now suppose that to happen, which our M—y had presumed and wished at Admiral *Boscarwen*'s sailing might be the Event of their Orders; that is, that he might meet *Macnamara* with his Squadron of twenty-five Ships of the Line, sixteen of which were prepared for fighting, and the rest with their lower-deck Guns out, proceeding as the M—y believed at the Time of *Holbourne*'s sailing, for *North-America*.

WHAT would have been the Event of this Rencontre, since Mr *Boscarwen* had received Orders to attack the *French*? I ask this Question of Men who can look with unprejudiced Eyes on the Merits of other Nations. With all the true Bravery, Prudence, and Knowledge of that Commander in naval Affairs, and those brave Captains joined with him

him in the Expedition, is there a well-founded Reason to believe that twenty-five *French* Men of War, circumstanced even as these were, would have been defeated by eleven *English*? If they had not, would not the shameful Ignorance of the M——y in the Number of the Enemy's Fleet, a Knowledge which every Man might have obtained who would have been at the Expence of paying for it, and surely the Parsimony of public Money is not the present reigning Taste, have proved the Perdition of his Majesty's Fleets and Subjects, to the everlasting Disgrace of the *English* Nation.

NAY so exquisitely subtle was the Design of this Scheme, even the second Fleet, commanded by Admiral *Holbourne*, would in all human Probability have fallen into the Hands of the *French* Squadron also; for by the Result it has appeared, that he did not join Mr *Boscawen* till eleven Days after the taking the *Alcide* and *Lys*.

By this Accident it might, with the greatest Probability, have happened, that Admiral *Boscawen* being defeated the tenth of *June*, the Day the *English* and *French* Fleet met in
Darkness

Darkness and Fogs on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, that Mr *Holbourne* might have suffered the same Fate eleven Days after, the very Time of his arriving at these Parts. I mean, if the surrounding Obscurity had not saved the *English* Fleet, as it has the *French*.

SUCH was the probable Presumption when Mr *Holbourne* quitted the *English* Coast, and such would have been the fatal Event, if *Macnamara* had continued the Voyage and Mr *Boscawen* had met and engaged him. Judge then how pernicious this Ignorance of the Number of the Enemy's Fleet would have proved to this once illustrious Nation, had Things fallen out as our M——rs originally designed it.

IT is extremely difficult to assign any Reason for Mr *Holbourne*'s being dispatched at all to join Admiral *Boscawen*, the very Distance in the Times of sailing of these Fleets rendered it improbable that he could join the first Admiral before the Engagement between him and *Macnamara* must have been totally decided, as is manifest by the Event of his joining Mr *Boscawen*.

It appears then self-evident that the sending this Admiral could have answered no other Purpose than destroying two Fleets instead of one, and sacrificing more of their Countrymen to the God of War, on the Altar of Ignorance.

THE Escape then with which these two Fleets have been favoured, and the Success which the first obtained in taking two *French* Men of War, inconsiderable as it is, cannot with the least Appearance of Justice be attributed to the ill-plann'd Designs of those who sent them on the Expedition. Can those Men be intitled to Praise for an Error in Judgment, in the *French* Admiral's Return, of which they knew nothing? and who, if he had proceeded on the whole Voyage to *America*, would in all Probability have ruined the two Fleets of *England*, sent as they were, one after the other, on this Expedition? With what Propriety then can this unforeseen Event be imputed to the Fore-thought of those who preside in m——l and naval Affairs; shall the Advantage of Accidents, unimagined, be laid to the Account of their Penetration and Wisdom? as well may you attribute the Winds which blew the Fleet to the Coast of *America* to their Sagacity,

gacity, as the little Success which they have obtained in the Voyage. The just Reward of these Men then, is the Dishonour of planning an Expedition that, through the Ignorance of what Numbers the Enemies Squadron was formed, would in all human Probability have been the Perdition of two *English* Fleets, and Thousands of brave Men and useful Subjects of *Great Britain*.

BUT as there may be *Englishmen* who, prompted by national Prejudice, believe that Admiral *Boscawen* with his eleven Ships was a Match for *Macnamara* and five and twenty *French* Men of War; let us, supposing this to be true, examine the Prudence with which, under this Idea, the Expedition was conducted.

FIRST it is a self-evident Truth, that there can be no Evidence or Intelligence of a Fleet's sailing to any Part of the Globe, equally certain with that of its leaving the Port in which it is equipt; the first, however well founded it may be in the Opinion and Judgment of an Enemy, can in its Nature be no more than casual and the Height of Probability; the second must be Demonstration and Necessity.

MINISTERS

MINISTERS may alter the Nature of their Design in an Hour, and send a Fleet which was originally equipping for one Part of the World, to another; they may purposely give out different Tales to cover their Intentions, or the Powers engaged against them may be left to divine its Intent only; these Circumstances may alter or conceal the true Place of its Destination. But no Change of Sentiment or Disguise can prevent a Fleet's being discovered in sailing out of that Port in which it is armed, whether destined to the *Baltic* or *Africa*, *America* or *Japan*, however dubious the Place of its Destination may be; neither of these can alter any thing in its Manner of leaving the Harbour in which it is prepared for the Seas.

SUPPOSING then the Strength of the *French* Fleet had been perfectly known, and Mr *Boscawen* had commanded a Force sufficient to have defeated it, which he might with Ease have had under his Command, there being at that Time twenty Ships of the Line at *Spithead* more than his Squadron, most of them fully mann'd. Is there a Boatswain of the Fleet who would have sent the Admiral to the Banks of *Newfoundland*, where Darkness palpable like

the *Ægyptian*, is known, by every common Sailor in the Navy, to reign three successive Months in the Year, in one of which the *French* Fleet must have past these Parts of the Seas ; where Fogs that conceal more effectually than the darkest Night all Objects which pass within the Length of a Ship, must have saved the greatest Part of that Fleet which they were sent to destroy ? A Place to which they never might arrive, or never be seen if they did. The Consequence of their being sent has evidently proved the Truth of this Observation.

WHAT shall then be said in Favour of that Man, who ordered the *English* Navy from those Parts where the Enemy's Fleet must inevitably pass, to one where they might not have been ordered to sail ? To desert a Part in which they must be visible to all the Squadron, for one in which they would probably be enveloped in a Cloud, like *Æneas* secured from the Eyes of all Beholders ? What is this but sending Ships the long Voyage to *America*, with the greatest Risque of missing in those Seas that which they must have met in the *British* Channel ? Is not this the first Instance of an Understanding that has presided over Fleets and Armies, that preferred *a may*
be

be to a Demonstration, and quitted a real Advantage in Certainty, for one of less Value in Probability only? Is it not owing to this Cause that so little Utility has been reaped from this Expedition, and the *French* Fleet escaped almost unseen? Was there ever a Person till this Time who would have deserted the Door of the House of that Man he wanted to meet, and who must come out of it, to seek him in the Streets where he never might pass, and prefer even Darkness to the noon-tide Hour, for that Business? Is there a Country Gentleman who could judge so diametrically wrong? would he have sent his Game-Keeper to shoot Woodcocks by Night?

YET such is the Goodness of Heaven, as Mr *Boscawen* was prepared, inferior to the Fleet which left *Brest*; the Absurdities of these Directors have preserved our Navy from a Defeat, and our Nation from a greater public Disgrace. For if Mr *Boscawen* had been ordered off *Brest*, the Place which in right Reason he ought to have been ordered, the Ignorance of our M——rs in the Number of that Fleet which first left *Brest*, would have proved the Destruction of him and the *English* Squadron. So gracious was the Will of Heaven,

Heaven, and so absurd the Judgment of those who preside over naval Affairs in this Kingdom. This Conduct of our M——rs is not however without its Advocates; the Reasons for justifying their Proceedings in this Manner are yet more extraordinary than the Behaviour itself: It is most gravely urged in Defence of this Conduct, that the *French* Squadron was not attacked in *Europe*, because their Allies, particularly the *Spaniard*, should not take Umbrage at our Behaviour; or such an Action bring on Hostilities in *Europe*. What kind of Capacities must these Men possess, who can imagine that an *Englishman* of common Sense can be cajoled with such frivolous Pretensions to a Justification of wrong Measures? Who can be deluded to believe, that a Fleet, freighted in *France* with Arms, Ammunition, Soldiers, and Provisions for *America*, can create any Difference of Opinion in a Nation, whether it be defeated on the Coast of *France* or the Banks of *Newfoundland*? These Advocates must have well studied *Grotius* and *Puffendorff*, who make this Distinction; and understand human Nature to great Perfection, who conceive, that the *Spanish* Ministry can be influenced against *England*, or to its Advantage, in favour of, or contrary to its own Interest

Interest to join or oppose the Power of *France*, by so subtle a Distinction, as our no engaging that *French* Fleet in *Europe*, which you determine to destroy in *America*. * A Defeat in this Part of the World of one half of the *French* Navy, would have humbled the *Gallic* Arrogance, prevented *Spain* and the Allies from joining the King of *France*; and cooled their Ardor for War, in Proportion as it diminished the Powers with which it must be sustained.

THE depriving our Enemies of their military Force, is the most effectual Method of intimidating their Allies from joining them: few chuse the sinking Side of a Question, and add a Probability of their own Ruin to that of those who are already destroying. Though the drowning Person seizes every thing to save himself; yet few catch hold of him that is sinking, with the View of going along with him. But in the Manner we have proceeded, what have we done but behaved like

* That this was given out as a Reason to cover their Mistakes, and not thro' any just Apprehension of *Spanish* Resentment, is now evident from the taking the *French* Merchant-Ships, and Mr *Hawke's* cruising for their Men of War in the *European* Seas.

like Poachers, with all that little despicable Cunning of sending our Ships at a Distance, to effect what it was prevented from doing by the Nature of the Place: A Specimen of that mean Timidity and Weakness of Capacity, proceeding from the Exercise of corrupting, and being corrupted, which has been long too manifest in all our m—l Measures. A Disposition which effectually disgraces a M—r, and infallibly ruins a Nation. What have we done more than shewn, that our Navy, though the most powerful, and our Seamen the bravest; by the wrong Judgment and sinister Direction of our Rulers in m——l Affairs, can be rendered absolutely ineffectual?

WE have cautioned and not chastened the *French*; we have sent a brave Admiral, brave Officers, brave Sailors, and seventeen Line of Battle Ships on a useless Parade to *Nova Scotia*, at an immense Expence, to take two *French* Men of War and to lose one of our own. We have been the Witnesses to the landing their Troops in *America*, and not prevented their Expedition. Such is the Conclusion of all the boasted Secrecy, Dispatch, and ravishing free-born Subjects from the Arms of their Wives

Wives and Children; and such the Result of the Wisdom of our m——l Conductors.

THIS then having been the Success and Conduct of our naval Armaments; let us now turn our Eyes on those of our Land-Forces, and candidly enquire, if the Wisdom of our M——rs has shown forth more eminently in the Management and Design of our Army on the Continent of *America*.

IT was at length resolved, that General Braddock, with two Regiments, and all necessary Provision for a Siege, should be sent to *America*, to defeat the Schemes of the *French* Nation, which had been artfully usurping the Dominions of our Sovereign. And here it is impossible to avoid remarking, that the Alarm which was spread against the *French* Insolence, and the Measures taken in consequence of it, were not so much undertaken from the Representations of the various Provinces of *America*, as from the private Interest which a certain Quaker had in the M——y, to whom Lands on the River *Ohio* had been granted by the Governor of *Virginia*, which have since been ratified in *England*.

THIS Man, being at the Head of a Sect which has constantly supported the M——r in all his strenuous Endeavours for Power, and Designs upon his Country, was attended to with greater Deference, and had more Weight than the Remonstrances of Two Millions of faithful *American* Subjects, who were still totally neglected: So much can the Interest of one Man, who heads a factious Sect in favour of a M——r, prevail beyond the public Good of the Subjects of this Kingdom, and the Honour of its Sovereign.

FORT *Lequesne*, seated on the *Ohio*, in those Lands which were granted to this Quaker, was the Object which General *Braddock*, and the *British* Forces were destined to demolish; the *French* were to be dislodged from these Parts, at all Adventures.

AND in this Place it must strike the Sense of every Man who reflects one Moment, that this very Person, whose passive Principles of Christian Patience prevent him from bearing Arms in Defence of this Land, which was granted him, had yet the unrelenting Conscience to obtain many Hundreds of his Fellow Subjects to oppose their Lives, and fall a
Sacrifice

Sacrifice in repossessing his Property. Such are the Proceedings of this Sect of Anti-constitutional and pernicious Beings.

THE Expedition, however, being set on foot, the same Identical Quaker, who had Influence sufficient to get it resolved on at first, had yet the farther Interest of its being destined to defend *Virginia*: The Reason of this will soon appear more evident; and here, notwithstanding we should allow Fort *Lequesne* to be a Place which ought to be attacked, we must insist that *Pensylvania* was the Place where the Troops ought to have been disembarked.

FIRST, This Country being fuller of Inhabitants, and all kinds of Handicraft Workmen, could have easily supplied whatever an Army might have stood in need of at that Time. *Virginia* being a Land cultivated by Negroes, must, for that Reason, be more destitute of *European* Settlers, than Colonies where Blacks are not in use.

SECONDLY, The additional Numbers which might have been thought necessary to have been raised for this Expedition to the *Ohio*,

would have been more easily levied in *Pensylvania* than *Virginia*.

THIRDLY, The requisite Attendants of a Military Expedition, such as Horses, Carts, Cattle, Provision, and all kinds of Tools, are in greater Plenty in *Pensylvania* than *Virginia*. This is evident from the Necessity the Army in *Virginia* was under, of having those Utensils and Supplies from *Pensylvania* before it marched.

FOURTHLY, The March of the Troops to Fort *Lequesne* from *Philadelphia*, had been for a much longer Part of the Road through a settled and cultivated Country, where all Kinds of Refreshments which are useful for an Army in hot Countries, and fatiguing Marches, might have been supplied with greater Ease.

THE important Advantages which attended *Pensylvania* above *Virginia*, though represented to our M——rs in the most strong and demonstrative Manner, were all neglected and over-ruled by the private Interest and Opinion of one Quaker.

Tantum ille potuit suadere malorum.

Is it not obvious to all Apprehensions that a Tobacco Merchant, especially if he be the Head of his Profession in *London*, must have more Interest in *Virginia* than in *Pensylvania*, his Correspondence being with the former, which produces the Commodity he traffics in, and not with the *Philadelphians*, who do not raise that Merchandize?

Is it not certain also from the Necessity of Trade, that he must have many outstanding and dubious Debts in that Colony, and from the Nature of Man, and more particularly from the Nature of a Quaker, that he must wish to have these hazardous Debts rendered more probable to be paid; and with this Intent, that he would embrace an Opportunity of putting his Debtors in a Way of discharging them whatever his Country might suffer? As his Correspondence is the largest of any Merchant's in this City with the Colony of *Virginia*, and his Interest the strongest with the M——r, he clearly foresaw that an Army sent to *Virginia* could not be sustained without large Sums of Money, and that the Remittance of it must fall to his Share: which very Circumstance being attended with at least two and a half *per Cent.* was an Object too replete with Advantages

tages to be neglected by a Money-loving Mercantile Man, detached from all other Considerations of Advantage.

THESE Circumstances then duly attended to, would they not persuade many a Man, who is not firmly convinced of the sincere disinterested Spirit and patriot Love which animates a Quakers Heart, that *Virginia* was preferred to *Pensylvania* for the lucrative Considerations above mentioned.

BUT as this Sect has ever behaved with such particular Zeal to defend their own Country, and singular Attachment to its Welfare, divested of all Desire of private Advantage, what can the most malevolent Imagination suggest against the Behaviour of this individual Quaker?

LET me then suppose a Thing not absolutely impossible, That this Design of his procuring the Troops to be sent to *Virginia*, took its Source from an Error of Judgment; that the Good of his Country was his Object, tho' he was mistaken in his Aim, and though his private Interest was the sole Result of his Design, yet he proposed it for the Public. How shall

shall we, even in this View of Things, apologize for the M——rs who were drawn into so palpable a Mistake?

THOUGH it might be allowed, that Merchants may be vindicated in not understanding to what Part of the *American* Continent a Military Force ought to be sent, which was destined to attack Fort *Lequesne*, yet a M——r, whose peculiar Province it is to superintend the public Welfare, the Lives, Properties, Advantages, and Commerce of his Fellow-Subjects in Peace and War, cannot avoid Condemnation for such mistaken and fatal Judgment.

THERE may indeed be Men who may imagine that this Quaker was truly acquainted with the Difference and Disadvantage which attended *Virginia* more than *Pensylvania*, and that Self-Interest, more than the public Welfare, weighed in obtaining the Troops being sent to the Colony of *Virginia*. If this Notion should meet a general Reception among Mankind, how shall we then account for a M——r's being duped to the Interest of a private Quaker, or reconcile national Disgrace and slender Intellects, with the Duty of Direct-
ing

ing in Peace and War, the Affairs of a whole Nation?

FROM what has been said, does it not evidently appear, that allowing Fort *Lequesne* to be an Object which demanded our Attention, and that a Military Force was necessary to be sent from these Kingdoms to reduce it, that *Virginia* was the Spot which ought not to be preferred to *Pensylvania*?

THIS then, absurd as it may appear, is even less than what we shall soon lay before your Eyes, shall we venture to assert, that the whole Armament which was designed and sent to the Demolition of this little Fortification, the Money which it has and will cost the Nation, and Lives which it has lavished in the Service of a non-resisting Quaker, were altogether useless and unnecessary; nay, that even Success in the Expedition to this Fort, could have been attended with no possible Advantage, whether the Attempts of the *Americans* succeed or miscarry at *Niagara* and *Crown Point*.

To prove what we have here suggested, let us cast our Eyes over Mr *Huske's* Map of
North

North America, by much the most accurate of all those which have been given to the Public.

LET us observe from what Part of the Dominions possessed by the *French*, the Supplies, Provision, and Men necessary for the supporting Fort *Lequesne*, must be drawn.

It is a Truth universally acknowledged, that *Canada* is the only Part which can afford these Requisites to the Parts where the *French* Forts are built from *Quebec* to Fort *Lequesne*; this happens because the Method is by an easy Transit, and Things are commodiously transported, the whole Distance being almost Water-Carriage, from the Mouth of St *Lawrence* River, to the Forts on the *Ohio*.

THE *Mississipi* is too distant for a March by Land, and the Navigation of the meandering *Ohio* too long to be attempted by Water. Indeed it is a known Fact, that the *Northern* Settlements of the *French*, supply all these Parts with Recruits, Ammunition, and Provision.

To attack Fort *Lequesne* at all then seems absolutely absurd, because all Supplies for that

Lequesne. It is indubitably true, that no Ship of Force or Burden can enter that Lake from the Head of the River *St Lawrence*: Consequently the *English* Ships being first set a Swimming on the Lake *Ontario*, they must have prevented all Supplies from going by Water to *Niagara*, as well as destroyed all Ships pretended to be built on the Borders of the Lake by the *French*; as the *English* by that Conduct would become absolute Masters of that Water.

HENCE, by the Cruizing of these Ships it being rendered impracticable to supply *Niagara* and Fort *Lequesne*, a few Months consuming the present Provision would have given us Possession of both; Famine being an Enemy, which no human Power can resist.

THUS then, by observing this Conduct, a small Expende, a prudent Patience, a steady Perseverance, and a little Time, would have accomplished what has already failed in one Part.

LET us however suppose that it was absolutely necessary that an Army should be sent to the besieging Fort *Lequesne* from *England*, shall we be permitted the Liberty of asking those

those who chose the General for this Expedition, and directed the Undertaking, Whether a hot impetuous Arrogance of Temper is that which is adapted by Nature, or should be pitched upon in a Man who is sent to command an Army in a new Land, where Hardships, more than in *European* Countries, must be undergone by the Soldier, where Affability and Compassion, Gaiety, Popularity, and Encouragement in a General, are the necessary Ingredients to sweeten and palliate the Bitterness of that Draught which War administers to the Taste of all Nations, and to win the People to his Confidence and Obedience.

WOULD a Man of common Understanding have sent a self-willed, self-sufficient, rash Commander, to oppose an Enemy in a Country replete with Opportunities and Situations for Ambuscade and Snare? The Genius of which People is to combat their Enemies in that way of Fighting; a Man whose very Presumption, Idea of Security, and Contempt of his Enemy, effectually deceived him into the Ruin of his brave Officers and his Army, with an Addition of Disgrace to his own peculiar Destruction; such a Disposition in a General, is a greater Advantage to a discreet Enemy than a thousand fighting Men added to their Party.

AND

AND here permit me to observe, that it seems owing to this want of Judgment in those who have long appointed our Commanding Officers, that the Panic at *Preston Pans*, the Fatality, as it is politely called, at *Falkirk*, the Flight at Port *L'Orient*, and the Disgrace at Fort *Lequesne*, have thus succeeded each other, in a great measure, as well as to the universal Corruption of those Men from which the Soldiery are generally collected.

HAD the Soldiers possessed a full Confidence in either of the Generals, who commanded on these Days, they would probably have behaved with the same Spirit they did at *Culloden*, when the Duke of *Cumberland*, in whom every Soldier confided, led them to an easy Conquest, and routed the Rebels at that Place.

It is this Confidence of an Army in their General which unites every Hand into one Action, animates every Heart to the same Obedience, and executes, by a happy Belief in their General's Excellence, what is vainly expected from the exact Discipline of Exercise in a *Martinet*; these are the Means, and not the Regularity of moving the Legs of a whole Rank, which incite and carry a Soldier on to Victory.

FROM

FROM what has been already said, is it not self-evident, that General *Braddock* should, instead of dividing his Powers, have marched in Union with Mr *Shirley* to *Niagara*, if they were determined to take that Fort by a land Force?

BUT by thus having divided their Forces, and his being defeated four Days before Mr *Shirley* began his march for *Niagara*, Mr *Braddock* has given his Enemies that received him so fatally near Fort *Lequesne*, the unexpected Opportunity and Advantage of being at *Niagara* before the *Americans* under the Command of Mr *Shirley*, and assisting their Country-men with all the Ammunition, Cannon, and Baggage, which were taken at this disgraceful Defeat: This Circumstance, if it should not totally prevent, will absolutely retard the taking *Niagara*, produce more Bloodshed, and expend more Money.

WHEN we reflect on the Behaviour of our Troops on this disastrous Spot, so fatal to *English* Honour, how can we refrain from observing that the Irregulars of the Provinces held their Bosoms firm against that Battle, and that Danger from which the Regulars and Disciplined Troops turned away; and that native Courage
supplied

supplied to the uncorrupted *American*, what Art and Discipline could not impart to the Soldiers of *Great Britain*.

THIS, in my Opinion, offers an invincible Proof, that a Militia in this Kingdom, raised amongst the Farmers and Peasants, where Virtue yet remains in a much greater Degree, than amongst that corrupt Rabble of perjured Corporation Borough-men, from whom the Soldiers are chiefly collected, where every moral and religious Influence being effaced by Bribery and Venality, all Sense of Honour and Duty is destroyed, would be a more effectual Defence of the Kingdom from all foreign Attacks, than ten times the Number of standing Troops, composed of such miserable Miscreants.

BUT alas! such is the Difference in Judgment and Conduct of that M——y which directs the Affairs of *France* and this Kingdom, the Subjects of a Free Nation are not permitted to know the Use of Arms, and defend themselves, their Liberties, King, and Country; whilst those which we treat as Slaves in that Nation, are encouraged to the Use of Military Discipline, and entrusted with Arms to defend, alas, what we call neither Liberty nor Property.

Show

Show me a greater Paradox in all Nature, and explain to me the Motives to this Behaviour in the different M——rs on justifiable Reasons, why a free People should be denied the Power of defending their Freedom, and those under a Monarchic Government should be openly encouraged to Fight for Slavery? Is Bravery more natural to Slaves than Freemen? or is Despotism a more animating Motive to the Person who lives under it, than the Charms of Liberty?

• Thus, my Countrymen, I have, with the utmost Impartiality, laid before your Eyes the true Proceedings of those who have lately conducted our Fleets and Armies. From this View does it not too plainly appear, that the Direction of each has been totally mistaken? Providence indeed, in pity to this favourite Isle, has almost deviated from the common Course of Nature, and once more saved its Fleets from Disgrace in spite of all the Ignorance that superintended them. A Miracle only could have saved the Army commanded by a self-willed General, who arrogantly despising the Powers of his Enemy, fell the Victim of his own Folly and their superior Knowledge.

G

How

How contemptible must we appear in the Eyes of all *Europe* from this Imbecility of M——l Judgment in the Choice of Generals, what Expectations of Success may not our Foes flatter themselves with, from this visible Inequality of Understanding in those who direct, to the Greatness of those Powers which are to be conducted by them during a War, when they have seen a State the strongest in maritime Force so totally divested of all Advantage, by the sinister Application of its Navy ; an immense Fleet preventing not their Enemies from being supplied with every thing necessary to support themselves during a War? What must we conceive will be the ultimate Event, when M——rs, by the natural Bent of their Understanding, can defeat all our Armaments with scarce an Enemy to oppose them? Will they, whose Capacities, in Tranquillity and at Ease, might have planned the Destruction of their Enemies Fleet, and yet have failed, be equal to the Conduct of a general War, and Success?

WILL not those, who have been the ductile Dupes of their own Incapacity, and a Quaker's self-interested Designs, in appointing useless Expeditions and unequal Generals, be eternally bewildered in the Turbulence of a general War,

War, and the Attention which is necessary to a Multiplicity of Affairs?

WILL those then be less open to the Schemes of their Enemies, than to their own Follies, and the Designs of their deceitful Countrymen? Will those Eyes which could not discern the true Object that should be pursued, when one only was in Agitation, be capable of supervising to the infinite Calls of a general War?

WHAT more beneficial Suggestion in Favour of *France* could Monsieur *Macbault* have insinuated into the Imagination of our M——r, than this, of concealing the Fleet of *England* in Fogs impenetrable to human Vision, rendering them invisible and useless? Who but this *Bayes* in Politics can elevate and surprize in so amazing a manner? He has concealed his Ships in Darkness as effectually as his Namesake did his Army at *Knightsbridge*. Is not this, as a certain Speaker in P——t began his Speech; “ new in Politics, new in War, and new in Council.”

It is more than probable that *Macnamara*, not meeting our Fleet in the *European Seas*, had Orders to return, and confide in their Invi-

sibility on the Banks of *Newfoundland* for their safe Arrival in *America*. In this how little was he deceived?

HENCE it too evidently appears, that we are in that sinking State which, through all Ages, has attended the Want of Understanding and Virtue. If then the Resurrection of a Nation from Sloth and Corruption, to Honour and Esteem, depend on the Capacity of those M——rs who direct it, how dreary and barren is the Prospect which is eternally offered to our Eyes?

Is it not the settled Rule of Providence, that the best Understandings shall always prevail at last, though in the Beginning sometimes the contrary appears true; yet here, alas, we want that flattering Commencement. It is like the Calculation of Chances; though the Person that deals at *Pharo* may be worsted once or more, he must infallibly get the better at the Year's End, and ruin those who engage with him at the Conclusion. If then the Direction of M——l Affairs run on in this Channel, what shall defend us from National Destruction, which comes sailing down before the Wind and Current full armed upon us?

BUT

BUT as my Intent in this Letter is to admonish you, my Countrymen, before it be too late, and not impute that to a criminal Heart which is but Error in Understanding; to clear myself of all Malevolence against the private Characters of those who superintend, I most sincerely believe, that no pernicious Intention in the M——y has been the Cause of these ill-judged Undertakings and Miscarriages; they have not taken their Source from Spleen, or Resentment to a Party; which too often warping the Minds of M——rs, drives them into unbecoming Actions; their private Resentment urging them to the public Ruin.

IN this Instance, their Hearts being not culpable, will excuse them for this single Essay of their Incapacity, in the Opinion of all honest Men: But if the Ambition of presiding in public Affairs, a Passion too often and too fatally mixed with Weakness of Understanding, should still goad them on to direct and ruin, what will then be their Due from your Hands?

YET even tho' Incapacity may plead a Pardon, it does not annihilate the Disgrace which attends the Nation in consequence of it: Tho' the Punishment due to premeditated Villany cannot be imputed to the Charge of those Directors,

rectors, yet the Sufferers are not alleviated by that Consideration in the Distress which they bring to a Nation. Weakness and Incapacity are even more fatal and destructive than a wicked Heart joined to superior Intellects in a M——r: This last, thro' pure Understanding, will exert every Faculty; conceiving his own and his Country's Interest inseparably united, his Judgment will correct his Mistakes, and re-instate what may have been originally wrong: But want of Intellect is irremediable; no human Power can correct that Error; its natural Lumpishness, like Gravitation in Matter, making it tend for ever to the Center of Darkness; like Impotence in Nature, producing nothing, or but ill-shaped Monsters: It is the most incurable of all Diseases of the Mind.

WHAT I wish then, is not to rouse you to the Destruction of these Men, but to your own Preservation; to awaken your Attention, that nods over the Ruin which surrounds you, that, like the paralytic Stroke, seems to benumb your Faculties. Rise then to the Salvation of your expiring Country; urge to your Representatives the Resolution of obtaining a superior Understanding, as essentially necessary to the Preservation of this Kingdom, which ought to be dear to every *Englishman*.

Do

Do not imagine I mean to intimidate you with the Dread of Perils, or alarm you with the Idea of *French* Power, to the asking an ignominious Peace. I am no Advocate but for my Country, and for *English* Glory: All I intreat you is, not by exclaiming against *French* Perfidy to lose the Sight of displacing those, who, by the Want of Understanding, are yet greater Enemies to this Nation.

As I know that Success must ultimately depend on Prudence and Understanding, that Heaven has originally determined that Human Glory shall be the Slave of these and Virtue, as your Lives and Properties, Liberties and Religion, must be the ignominious Victims of wrong Judgment. Remember how dangerously you are at present situated. Will not one Miscarriage in *Europe* push you headlong into the Gulf of Perdition, from that Precipice on which you at present stand exposed?

LET not the Clamor of Dispatch, and Impetuosity of Warlike Preparation, deceive you into an Opinion of these Men. The headstrong Horse, whose Violence carries him without the Course, as effectually loses the Race as that which is distanced: The Traveller who rides Post out of the Way, is at the Evening only more tired and farther distant from his Home than he who

who trots on soberly; and Fleets and Armies, destined by strong misguided Impulse to wrong Places, useless and inapplicable Designs, only sooner exhaust the Powers of a Nation.

LET me implore you then to remonstrate to Majesty itself, if your Representatives refuse your Petition, that able Heads may direct his Councils; and that Arms be intrusted to your Hands, in whom Safety can be only placed; who love your King and Country, and are ready to offer up your Lives a Sacrifice to their Preservation and Welfare.

LET us not stand thus, almost naked, and exposed to the Attacks and Insults of Two hundred thousand Soldiers; defended by less than twenty thousand: A Battle lost in this Isle decides the Fate of *England*. Remedy those Evils; place yourselves, your King, and Country in Security; chastise your Enemies by Sea. Believe me in what I have uttered, lest, like the *Trojans* who neglected the Prophecies of *Cassandra*, self-sufficient, inattentive, and secure, you bewail too late the predicted Evil, when no human Powers can remove the Weight of that Ruin which now hangs threatening over you.

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